Why the Village Movement?

BY

J. C. KUMARAPPA

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(A plea for a new economic order in India)

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WHY THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT ?

Part I

Historical Background

CHAPTER I

Stages of Evolution

In the most primitive stages of both men and animals, economic activity is the result of an urge to satisfy primary needs, such as:

1. Hunger.
2. Protection against natural elements like wind and weather.
3. Protection against outside attack.

The most elementary form of economic activity is that of gathering supplies which exist in nature. A monkey feels hungry, it stretches out its hand and plucks the leaf or fruit. This is purely predatory. The monkey has done nothing to produce the leaf or fruit. If any factor intervenes which is likely to prevent or retard the supply satisfying the demand, friction is at once generated and causes heat or violence. Thus, if a hungry dog is prevented from consuming the bone he is eating, at once there is violence.

In this activity the animal is highly self centred and individualistic. If a species is gregarious at all, they get together for hunting down their prey like wolves in a pack, but even then they are only interested in the welfare of their group and unite merely for aggression. Such species are usually ferocious.

When protection is sought against natural elements, it is obtained either by finding natural shelters like caves and holes or through individual effort by building nests or combs as is the manner of birds and bees. In this case there is not much predatory activity as the creature makes its own contribution towards the creation of the needed supply.

Safety from outside attack is often obtained by the flocking or herding together of certain kinds of animals like sheep, cattle, elephants, etc. In this form there is a strong feeling of social dependence, and such animals are generally passive and peaceful and not aggressive and ferocious like wolves. For distinction we shall call animals which unite for aggression, such as wolves, "the pack type", and those which gather together for safety "the herd type".

If we analyse carefully the history of man, we shall find the above types reflected in his economic

activity in different stages of his evolution. The primitive savage gathered his fruits and edible herbs, clothed himself with material such as leaves and skins provided by nature and sought shelter in caves and other protected places. Next came the hunter and fisher who produced tools with which they killed or caught other forms of living creatures for their own use. The nomad, on the other hand, captured animals and domesticated them and utilised their products. He wandered from place to place in search of food and fodder. At a much later stage man began to control his environment and produce natural conditions favourable for his purpose and enjoyed the fruits of his labour. When he did this he attained the agricultural stage of civilization.

As civilisation advanced the need for a greater division of labour was felt. Industrialisation began in various forms according to the genius of the people in different places.

The economic organisations developed by civilised man under industrialisation bear marks of these earlier types of evolution according to the stage of development from which the particular organisation took its origin. Generally speaking, the animal's activities are individualistic except in the case of gregarious vegetarian animals of the "herd type"

which get together for safety, or in the case of the "pack type" of carnivorous creatures which unite for aggressive purposes in search of food. The hunter and nomad, who are essentially of the "pack type" are individualistic and predatory and do not consider the rights and privileges of other creatures.

We must bear in mind that the true test of civilisation is not our material possessions or our manner or mode of life but the thought we bestow on the well being of others. In predation, which is really barbarism, we cannot expect to find any civilisation, for true culture shifts the emphasis from "rights" to "duties". Consideration for the feelings of others and a sense of responsibility towards them distinguish the "gentleman" from the boor.

When we get to the agricultural stage of civilisation we find that a sense of respect for the rights of others and a feeling of one's own limited sphere of exploitation evolves with the laying out of boundaries and landmarks. From this, in its turn, grows a sense of responsibility for one's own actions and their consequences on others In this stage of civilisation the economic organisation is not individualistic as in the earlier stages but becomes socialised much in the same way as the herd type of animals. Activities are controlled impersonally by

means of rules of conduct and by a well conceived regulatory mechine. The time taken to pass from one stage to another may be counted in thousands of years since the characteristics of the earlier stages have to be eradicated or modified and the characteristics of the next stage formed. If there is not sufficient time between one stage and another for human nature to evolve, there is a disruption or maladjustment in human society

Broadly speaking, we may classify human economic organisations into two types, the individualistic type and the social type, or, if we wish to name them clearly with reference to the animal prototype from which they originated, we may call them "the pack type" and the "herd type".

In the "pack type" are found the following characteristics:—

1. Central control and concentration of power in the hands of individuals or small groups in a personal way.

2. Rigorous discipline.

3. Disregard of the welfare of the actual workers or contributors to the success of the organisation.

4. Suppression of individuality in the worker and a spirit of intolerance either in competition or in rivalry.
5. The prospect of obtaining gains the motive force for all activities.
6. Concentration of the benefits obtained and the sharing of them amongst a limited few.
7. To gather in as much as one can without reference to the altruistic value of service rendered, the object being predatory.

We may add that owing to the concentration of power and benefit these activities generally radiate from a limited geographical area such as cities.

In the "herd type", on the other hand, we find:—

1. Social control, decentralisation and distribution of power, the working and regulation being impersonal.
2. Activity steered into desired channels by rules of conduct and social regulatory machinery.
3. Attempts made to safeguard the weak and the helpless.
4. Encouragement given to individual growth and expressed by a considerable amount of tolerance.

5. Activities directed by a consideration of certain set ideals and social movements.

6. Distribution of gains as wide as possible according to the needs of individuals.

7. The object is to satisfy needs judged from an altruistic point of view.

Because of the attempt to decentralise control and production, economic activity is broad based, being scattered over a wide geographical area in the form of village groups.

In the light of these facts we shall attempt in the following two chapters to analyse some of the forms of economic organisation evolved by the human race.

CHAPTER II

Western Economic Organisations

Although, in point of time, western organisations evolved much later than our own, we shall consider their merits and demerits first because the ostensible object of this brochure is to enable us to lay a foundation for the proper evolution of the future economic organisation of our own country.

Owing to the fact that the western peoples had no time to settle down to an agricultural civilisation which they had only just attained when industrialisation overtook them, we find a great number of points at which their economic organi sation dovetails into the hunter and nomad stages of evolution. "Consequently the characteristic" of the "pack type" which we considered in the last chapter stand well pronounced in their industrial organisations. We may classify them into five main groups according to the personnel of the central controlling group, and as the masses, whether of the West or of the East, are of much the same kind, we may eliminate them.

1. The dynasty of might.
2. The dynasty of finance.
3. The dynasty of the machine.

4. The dynasty of labour.
5. The dynasty of the middle classes.

The dynasty of might is represented by the feudal organisation in which the feudal baron with his retinue under military discipline descended on the villages from his castle and compelled the producing masses to surrender part of the fruits of their labour to him for no conceivable return beyond the doubtful protection afforded by him from the attacks of marauders other than himself. The return for his services or the amount rendered to him was tribute. The benefit so received was mainly for the use of the feudal baron. Any thought of the welfare of the villagers who surrendered a share of the products to the baron never occurred to him What did Napoleon care how many of his soldiers he left dead on the way so long as he could get to Moscow?

Towards the end of the 18th century we find the dynasty of finance coming into evidence with the commercial exploitation of inventions and the accumulation of capital secured through centuries of economic activities. Owing to religious persecution, men with original thinking powers sought shelter from middle Western Europe in Great Britain. At that time Britain was a poor country and had not the requisite accumulation of capital to bring to full

fruition the benefit of imported brain power. This desideratum was made possible by Empire Builders directing the flow of gold from the Ganges to the Thames. With the rise of financial power the feudal baron found it to his advantage to join hands with the financier. This combination of might and finance led to what is called in modern times "Imperialism". In this also there is need for discipline in the form of "team work" and the return that the organisation gets is called "interest" as against the "tribute" of the feudal lord. The control is centralised and the success of each organisation depends upon the person or persons directing the institution. The recognition of the importance of discipline in the form of joint effort for the success of the financial dynasty is evinced by the fact that "team work" is almost deified in Great Britain. Games which are based on team work such as cricket, football, hockey and boat-racing have become national sports and those who excel in these games are considered almost heroes and fit to carry on the work of the empire. In this system, too, all that mattered was the interest that the financier received. The welfare of the producer was again forgotten. Did King Leopold of Belgium think of the mutilated bodies of the natives of the Congo so long as he got his returns from their forced labour?

America is the best example of machine civilisation. There, man stood aghast at the might of nature. He had to grow artificial hands in the form of machinery to grapple with vast distances, mighty rivers and impenetrable forests in order to make them serve his needs. These circumstances led to the development of machinery as a labour-saving device. By its very origin the control was limited to the few and the interests of those who contributed to the production were ignored. The factory workers might be made into minced meat but the machinery of the meat packers of Chicago could not be stopped to save the life of a labourer.

Under this dynasty discipline took the form of a speeding-up process and standardisation of the article. This organisation also partakes of all the characteristics mentioned in the "pack-type" and the return that is obtained from the use of the machine represents the profits to the machine owner.

When opportunity occurred, exploited labour turned the tables on the feudal barons, the financier, and the machine owner and took its turn at the helm and thus we find communism organised in the "pack type". In this system also most of the characteristics of the other organisations are represented viz., centralisation of control and power,

rigid discipline and suppression of the individual in regard to production and distribution. Whatever good may have been obtained or envisaged by the directing body giving primary consideration to the needs of the community and not so much to the amount of profit obtained, yet this organisation too is a sectarian or class organisation run by the proletariat with special privileges attached to the sect in power.

More recently we find the struggle of the middle classes to seize power represented in organisations such as Nazism and Fascism, both based on much the same lines as Capitalism.

All these organisations are city-centered and in time will lead to degeneration of the producing masses because no initiative is left to them, their function being merely one of carrying out higher orders. Already, within a period of one or two generations, we find in the most well organised capitalistic country, America, that nervous diseases, due to the strain involved in the system of economic production, are giving cause for alarm. In New York State one person out of every 22 is said to be in an asylum. There are 81,000 feeble minded and 40,000 insane in hospitals. About 400,000 children are so sub-normal that they are unable to follow

the ordinary curricula of schools, and in the U.S.A. as a whole, there are eight times the number of feeble-minded as there are consumptives. It is said that mental diseases in America are far more dangerous than tuberculosis, cancer, heart disease, kidney troubles, typhus, plague and cholera all put together. An economic organisation that leads to this situation cannot be self-propagating in as much as any organisation should be able to produce its own leaders. But, all modern capitalistic methods, in so far as they lead to the degeneration of the people engaged in them, carry within themselves the seeds of their own destruction and therefore will cease to exist in course of time. When, therefore, we seek to establish a suitable form of economic organisation for our country we cannot accept a type that leads to the production of mental defectives.

It is because of this nervous strain that the clamour for "leisure" in industrialised countries of the West is so loud. Under their system leisure is a necessity as their organisation is unnatural. Natural work, on the other hand, causes physical weariness for which rest and repose in sleep are sufficient recuperatives.

The working of all these organisations is lubricated by educating the masses into thinking that

happiness is to be obtained by developing a multiplicity of wants. Sanctions based on violence are essential to these systems.

Conclusion

While "pack type" organisations have their evils, they have also some strong points. We may include the first three dynasties of might, finance and machine under "Capitalism".

Under capitalism the profit motive is given free play and individuals are allowed to exploit every situation to their gain even at the cost of injuring society. The advantage of this system is that every individual gets an opportunity to exercise his talents and energy as he likes In trying to check this, the communists have gone to the other extreme by doing away altogether with the profit motive. Under their system a small idealistic group plans the work for the nation. Individual talent and initiative are entirely suppressed. While the individualistic outlook of capitalism is bad, it is also a mistake to supress man to the extent of making him into an automaton incapable of thinking for himself. Both extremes have to be avoided. In one, the individulistic outlook appears in an exaggerated form. In the other, the personality of the individual is utterly crushed. While the first is based on uncontrolled selfish greed, the other is based on class hatred

We contend that both under capitalism and communism, human values are not fully taken into account. Every individual has a personality which, when properly developed has its contribution to make to society. We have no right to look upon the common run of human beings, as either gun fodder as under capitalism or a cogwheel in a machine as under communism. We should not wholly reject either centralisation or private ownership; nor may we entirely ban the profit motive nor advocate complete decentralisation. What we want to find is a mean between capitalism and communism. Both systems have failed to bring out the best in individuals, and both have led to group violence—capitalism by trying to find markets and communism by keeping out the foreigner and trying to enforce its plan. Hence we have to modify both While we do not reject the profit motive, we shall have to try and curb the capacity of the individual to accumulate profits and wealth. We human beings are so built that progress can only be possible with the advance of each individual. For the advance of each individual it is necessary to allow a certain amount of self-interest. This is fully demonstrated in everyday life. When a man works for a fixed salary as, say, in a Government post, the contribution he makes to society is gene-

rally of a routine nature. The greatest inventions and discoveries have been the results of venturesome spirits attempting to give expression to their inner urge. Decentralisation of production ensures the producer the product of his labour. Therefore, if group production has disadvantages the alternative is decentralised production. While it may be granted that group activity has a contribution to make within a limited community, it is open to serious doubt whether such activity is possible on a national scale for any length of time. A few idealists may get together and run an Ashram or other philanthropic institution on the basis of service but whether such principles can be applied in the present state of varied and varying civilisations on a world basis may be questioned. For even Russia finds it necessary to shut herself out from the outside world in order to carry out communistic experiments. Foreign trade there is a state monopoly and intercourse with foreign nations is highly restricted. Thus the communistic experiment is carried on almost in a laboratory. Experiments may be carried on under controlled circumstances in order to find out the laws that govern economic movements but it is too much to expect humanity, as a whole, to function in like manner under normal conditions without such controlled environment.

Centralised production under Capitalism with the profit motive as its propelling force directs labour from the supply of primary needs to luxuries, from food to face powder. Hence it is that we find a world facing starvation and overproduction at the same time.

Centralised production, whether under Capitalism or under Communism, will in the long run lead to national deterioration, as there is only a limited scope for the exercise of the entrepreneur's ability. Not a little of the unbusinesslike habits of our people is due to lack of opportunity for their assuming responsibility whether in business or in Government. Unless one is allowed to strike out for oneself, there can be no healthy growth. We cannot have a nation of stalwarts on centralised methods. Both political and economic freedom need decentralisation if they are to germinate. The right place for a machine is an instrument in the hands of man, but when man is turned into a machine-feeder, the whole organisation is up-side-down. Man does not exist for the machine.

Under Communism, society is made a fetish of and individuals sink into insignificance. However many material comforts a person may be provided with by society, what shall it profit him if he loses his personality?

We must, of course, have a place for centralised production but it must be only for the purposes of public utilities which should be under either collective or co-operative control. Undertakings such as telephones, telegraphs, roads, postal services, supply of water, exploitation of forests and mines will all naturally come within the scope of the state. We cannot allow private exploitation in these undertakings. The main objection to social ownership and management for commodity production is that under such conditions progress will be retarded. But if social control can take care of the size and capacity of the units of production, exploitation can be minimised. As long as human nature is what it is, it will be impracticable to abolish exploitation altogether. Exploitation and violence in some form or other will be there. Our eating and breathing is full of violence and exploitation. Our purpose, however, should be to minimise these in keeping with human existence and progress. Under the conditions we propose there will be a natural limit to the capacity of an individual to produce. And this, in its turn, will limit maldistribution of wealth. So long as individuals differ one from another, the quantity and the quality of production of the individual will also differ. That is, the income will differ, but the range of difference will be

limited. We can think of differences in income ranging in hundreds or thousands but we cannot have incomes running into millions without involving an unhampered exploitation of thousands. Finance, trading, marketing etc., can also function in a co-operatively managed organisation and therefore there need be no fear of unlimited private wealth.

Communistic production takes the form of military discipline in the economic sphere and too much discipline is bad for growth. Soviet Communism is also based on class hatred. Indeed, it is an outcome of class hatred. Even today there are distinctly marked differences in the treatment of peasants and workers. If what we hear about the violent methods adopted to suppress the bourgeois class has even an iota of truth in it, no lover of human progress can advocate such methods in any group. Because if we sow a wind we reap a whirlwind. We cannot afford to lay the foundation stone of a new order for ourselves on class hatred.

It is argued that if we are to have any form of Government, violence is essential. As it has already been pointed out before a certain amount of violence will always be involved in any state control but what matters is the degree and the spirit behind what appears to be violence. Even a loving father

chastises his child. If there is violence in such chastisement then there is bound to be such violence also in a government as we conceive it. Under the form of state control which we advocate, the transition may not be sudden and spectacular; our methods will be slow and will take time to permeate through the nation. We have to have patience if we are aiming at permanence. While disestablishing private property by a stroke of the pen by legislation may be violent, gradual curtailment of private ownership by limiting productive capacity under state control will not necessarily spell violence. In our own country, in the past as well as in the present, a great many functions were and still are under social control and society decides on the merits or demerits of certain cases. There may be abuses in this system, but it does indicate the possibility of subjecting our people to group discipline by social control.

CHAPTER III

Eastern Economic Organisation

It is in old countries such as India, China and Japan (as she was) that we find agricultural civilisation influencing economic organisation. In this type the social organisation of the country is harnessed to direct and control economic activity. It is a far cry from the "pack" to the "herd type". The countries which have worked on the latter methods have evolved social systems which are very similar to one another. In the "pack type" there is the common characteristic of aggression for economic purposes, but in this type there is a getting together not for aggression but for internal safety and consolidation. As a matter of fact, in Mongolian countries, foreigners were excluded until very recently, and in India foreign travel was looked down upon and definitely discouraged. Merchants alone went out of the country for commercial purposes. The regulation and decentralisation of power made the entire organisation work in an impersonal way, the driving power being obtained by hitching the economic machinery on either to civil laws or religion or superstition. The interests of the weak and the helpless were safeguarded by provisions which

none could break with impunity. As a result, we find in India such institutions as the joint family system, the division of labour by caste, and the method of distribution to artisans of a share in the products of agriculture.

All the members of a joint family shared what was provided by the earning members. If one had a large income one's brother who was incapable of working was also supported. The large income being shared amongst all the members of the family made the distribution of wealth more equitable, and uncontrolled competition such as would have been possible for exremely wealthy individuals was therby curbed. The joint family system not only avoided competition and mal-distribution of wealth, but it also offered protection to the incapable and the weak. The caste system aimed at directing the various units of economic activity in consonance with one another and safeguarding the community from over production through personal greed and uncontrolled competition. The barter system of payment in kind to the artisans assured to every individual a minimum of subsistence The organisation itself was not one suited for the exploitation of the weak by the strong. The principles underlying these systems appear to be based on the conception that work itself is a method of distribution of wealth. The community was

regarded as a corporate unit with its various members performing their own functions and contributing to the life of the community as a whole, just as the different members of our body work together, share a common life and form a unit. It would not do, for instance, for the heart to quarrel with the hands or the feet, or for the stomach to refuse nourishment to the heart. These systems also promoted solidarity and co-operation within the groups and provided little chance for exploitation. People working within such an organisation were like sheep folded in a pen and sheltered from wolves in the shape of exploiters. Exploitation itself was not altogether absent, but the purpose of the organisation was to minimise opportunities for such and offer protection to the innocent by putting up social barriers. These old systems are now not capable of bearing the strain put on them by the tremendous expansion in the field of economic activity. It will be necessary for us, however, carefully to consider the systems evolved under old conditions and devise ways and means of similarly organising present day production without involving a nervous strain on the producer and, at the same time, ensuring to every worker the fruits of his labour. We have seen that the "pack type" had given unbridled scope to the venturesome under its theory

of *laissez faire* and its corollary of the independence of the individual, while the "herd type" recognised that the selfishness of the individual had to be curbed in the interest of society as a whole.

When we look at the West and the East from these points of view we notice that the distinction made between the "pack type" and the "herd type" in the economic world is also to be observed in other spheres such as the political, religious and social. In the political field we find true democracy absent in all Western countries. 'It masquerades under the cloak of a parliamentary organisation in which real power is vested in a group or in a single dominating personality. Similaly even in a personal and tolerant religion such as was practised by Jesus we find, as organised in the West, concentration of authority and power in one person, the Pope, or in an institution such as the church. The outcome of this has been bigoted intolerance. In social life also we find fashions dictated from palaces slavishly followed in the cottages, and the whole structure of society taking its cue from the cities. The civilisation that has developed has been a city civilisation originating from Greece and Rome.

In India, on the other hand, in the political field in the past village republics managed

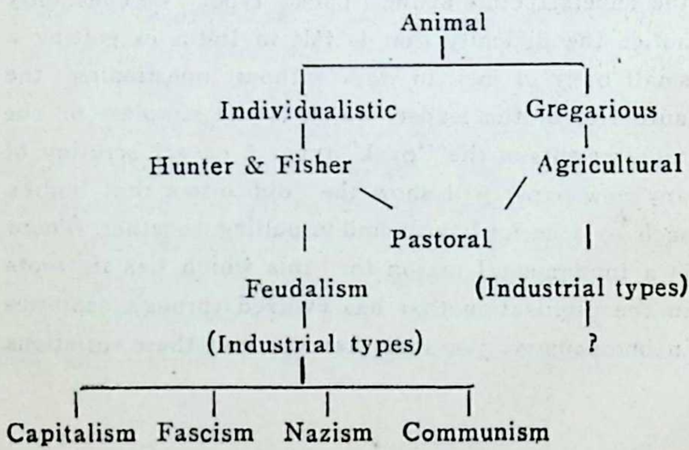
their own affairs. Even when foreign invaders came the life of the villager was left undisturbed. In religion we notice the same tendency to decentralise the form of worship and views in regard to the Godhead, with the result that there was extreme tolerance. In social life grandeur was centred in the palace and the temple, while the life of the citizen was generally simple and suited to village conditions. The people's desire for pageantry and colour found artistic outlets in festivals connected with the palace and the temple, leaving no room for personal display.

Thus we mark the fundamental difference between the "pack" and the "herd types". India has been under the "herd type" for centuries and has evolved a culture which cannot support without detriment to itself the superstructure of the "pack" type. We constantly notice the difficulty that is felt in India in getting a small body of men to work without questioning the authority of the leader, which is the simplest of the requirements of the "pack" type. A casual scrutiny of any newspaper will show the difficulties that bodies such as District boards find in pulling together. There is a fundamental reason for this which has its roots in the civilisation that has evolved through centuries in our country. We shall have to note these variations

in formulating a system of economic production best suited to modern conditions and capable of working satisfactorily in India, if industrialisation is not to bring with it all the evils attendant on its development in the West.

If we attempt to superimpose a foreign structure on our ancient foundation the edifice will certainly tumble like a pack of cards. A plant that flourishes in Russia under hot house conditions may not thrive if transplated in our country. The "pack type" is short-sighted and selfish and its control is centralised and personal, when, however, the control is socialised and decentralised the policy can be a long sighted one.

The following table gives a broad outline indicating the origin of the various systems considered in this and the preeding Chapters.



The West has evolved some systems based on its own "pack type" civilisation for its industrial life. India had an agricultural "herd type" civilization which is now decadent. The Brahmin has abondoned the privilege of learning and teaching and has taken to the profession of law to exploit the quarrelsomeness of human nature. The Kshatriya is fraternising with the foreigner to hold his own country-men in bondage for pecuniary gains. The Vaisya has entered the international speculative market to the ruin of our farmer. The Sudras have joined Government service in the menial departments.

We have thus fallen away from our ideals, and if we are to rebuild again we have to regain the principles that guided our forefathers. Our degeneration is largely due to deterioration in our national character and to selfishness in individuals. The Brahmin who was originally intended to be the custodian of the purity of the race and the trustee of national culture has misappropriated these privileges and has contrived by various means to keep himself segregated from his fellow-beings. By these means the Brahmins are rapidly losing their former position of responsibility and leadership. It is very like the case of a medical man who in order to avoid contagion or infection from sick people abandons his pro-

fession and confines himself in a germproof cell. Such a person, instead of protecting society from danger, is a parasite himself. Thus before we begin to reform society we should fully appreciate the purposes for which institutions were established in the past. It must also be remembered that, however commendable a particular administration or organisation may be in a given country such an organisation cannot be satisfactorily transplanted in another country unless the environment and the human element are identical in the two countries. What is good enough for America cannot be the ideal for Russia; what suits Italy will not pass muster in England, and much less will any of them fulfil our needs.

Part II

The Modern Situation

CHAPTER IV

Natural Order

Historically, if we follow the natural order of things, demand as represented by hunger and by the need for shelter and protection, precedes supply (food, clothing and housing). Wherever there is a demand a suitable supply follows. "Necessity is the mother of invention". To a certain extent, the existing demand may also be the urging factor for anticipating future wants as in the case of storing provisions against a rainy day. Compare, for example, the habits of creatures such as ants, bees etc, in this regard.

In the case of an agricultural civilisation, the system ordained by nature is not interfered with to any great extent. If there is a variation at all it follows a natural mutation. The agriculturist only aids nature or intensifies in a short time what takes place in nature in a long period. He has improved the wild varieties found in nature. He has converted

grass seeds into wheat and rice by accelerating natural conditions. Similarly in economic organisation, agricultural civilization has followed nature largely in the methods adopted for producing commercial products. Commodities are brought into existence either to order or to meet the usual and easily determinable market demand. A social regulating machine aids distribution but production follows individual effort. There is no central planning unless it be to coordinate effort but it is not employed to set the pace.

Under the economic system of the "pack type" derived, as it is, from the primitive hunter and feudal baron we find that the variations from nature are very violent in that a large supply of goods is produced irrespective of demand, and then a demand is artificially created for goods by means of clever advertisements, as for example in the case of soaps, hair-growers, tea, tonics etc. As it is today, the feast is spread but there is no appetite and we have to create it by appetisers. We shall as a consequence suffer from indigestion as the hunger was artificial, This policy mars the even course of economic production, and leads to over-production, mal-adjustment and mal-distribution of wealth, for the whole system

works from the point of view of the individual controller.

Under capitalism the tools used are expensive. This entails a heavy overhead cost. To lessen the proportion of this expenditure the producer manufact] ures standardised articles on a large 'scale, and comes into keen competition with other producers, for the person who gets his goods into the market first gets the best of it. This leads to a glut in the market and in order to create an artificial demand high pressure salesmanship is resorted to by means of advertisements etc. Here then the urge that brings the supply into existence is not the demand but the unnatural over-head load. This being an artificial system needs violence to make it work.

Under communism also the urge to produce goods is from outside the producer and, therefore, not, a natural one. Hence it too requires artificial stimul-ants in one form of violence or the other tosustain it.

In order to produce a better percentage of profit, producers, sometimes unite and form what are called "trusts", "cartels" or "combines". While these are not wholly individualistic they can in nowise be said to be in the interests of the nation for they merely enlarge the circle of control and direction

and continue to concentrate power and wealth. Where private motive proves to be inimical to production socialisation of control takes place by assigning the function of direction and authority to the state. This is a variation which works satisfactorily to a limited extent in the case of public utility services, such as water supply, management of forests, and provision of communications like telephones, telegraphs, roads etc.

In the "herd type" of economic organisation, the natural order of demand preceding supply was followed. The result was that marketing functions did not create any disruption in production as the primary needs of the locality were considered first. Cities and towns merely performed the function of distributing agents and wealth remained in the villages. Though the individual amount of wealth was comparatively small, distribution was more equable than in the "pack type" where production followed that sphere where large profits could be made, and thus becoming more and more centralised led to hte concentration of inordinate wealth in the hands of a few.

In regard to production, even where the regulatory functions under this "pack type" are assigned to Government, various forms of economic barriers

are put up by way of control of currency and prices, fixing of freight rates and raising of tariff walls. Even Governments which work with the "pack type" usually become subject to the control of its economic organisation and function for the benefit of the few who control production. In other words, in practice, under the "pack type", Governments have become mere cogwheels in the economic machinery. There is hardly a single Government in the West that can be pointed to as being a thing apart, performing its duties purely with a view to the betterment of the masses. Not only in Capitalism but also in Communism the State has become the main-spring of the economic machinery. While the ideal is that Governments should provide the fulcrum for economic activity they have become the levers themselves with the result that wealth has been turned into multifarious economic units, divided by fences which are political, geographical and ethnical.

In such a world of conflicting interests, there is little likelihood of peaceful production, as raw materials, partly manufactured goods and finished products have perpetually to cross these artificial barriers. The greater the number of artificial barriers introduced into the flow of economic goods, the harder it becomes to keep that flow smooth and easy. Today,

therefore, the world is made up of alternating stagnant pools and rapids created by these disturbing factors in the stream of economic production.

Production itself does not attempt to cater for the needs of the common people but, as we have already noticed follows activities which result in the largest profit. A rupee in the hands of a poor man may represent two days' food for him and his family, but the very same coin in the hands of a rich millionaire may represent merely the value of a drink or a smoke. Therefore, the money in the hands of the poor man has a high value in commodities while the very same amount in the hands of a rich man, represents little utility. Hence any production that aims at gathering in the largest number of rupees will naturally cater for the needs of the rich man who will throw away his money with the greatest ease. I follows that luxury articles provide a larger percentage of profit for the producer, it being easier to make a profit by making lip-sticks or such other toilet articles used by the rich than by supplying the needs of the poor in the shape of reed mats or mud utensils. It is because of this misdirection of energy due to the profit motive that we find over-production side by side with starvation in the world today.

Under the "herd" system as seen in India, the production of necessities was distributed in small local

groups by the social regulation of caste. The carpenter, the blacksmith and the chamar produced their articles and supplied them to the people in the villages free of money charges, taking in return a share in the prodution of local agriculture which afforded them a minimum subsistence allowance.

Under the natural order it is essential that there should be fluidity in production and exchange. This is provided in the "herd type", as we have just seen by the organisation dividing its production centres into small units and making payments largely in kind rather than in money. The chamar makes the shoe and in effect exchanges it for food. The rice producer gets his shoe and gives a part of his production to the chamar. This completes the cycle. If, on the other hand, the rice pro-producer buys a Japanese shoe, he cuts the ground from under his own feet for the village shoe-maker is to that extent impoverished and unable to buy the rice producer's product, while the chances of the Japanese producer buying the rice from the buyer of the shoe are very remote. The greater probability is that the Japanese shoe manufacturer will exchange his purchasing power for obtaining his raw materials from other foreign countries, and if there were no economic friction the money might, by taking a cir-

cuitous course, return to the rice producer in India. But as things are today there are so many economic barriers between the Japanese shoe manufacturer and our rice producer, that the purchasing power, for all intents and purposes, never returns to the rice producer in India. Such an out going with no return constitutes a considerable national loss of wealth.

Money which was primarily introduced as a convenient medium of exchanging goods has now come into its own under the "pack type". The whole of the capitalistic structure is based on it. It has assumed the role of a standard of values. People are educated to judge affairs on a price basis. A market value is placed even on cultural education. "Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest" has become a rule of life. All other standards — aesthetic, human and altruistic — are forgotten. Thus the golden calf has been installed on a high pedestal and the world is told to bow down before mammon. This is a mechanical allegiance to metal. But "man does not live by bread alone". There are other things that matter which have their roots deep down in human nature. Unless our economic order is built on these natural foundations, hoarded gold will only hasten the sinking of the drowning man to the bottom of the sea.

At present in India our freight rates are such that the natural course of marketing is disturbed. One would imagine that Nasik grapes would sell cheaper at the Nasik Railway station than Australian grapes, but owing to artificial barriers introduced in the form of freight rates, it is cheaper to buy Australian grapes in Nasik. Several similar instances might be quoted to illustrate what is meant. As long as a free flow of goods does not exist it is folly for anyone to enter distant or international markets. There is a great deal said at the present time about developing agriculture. If by this is meant that we should produce food and necessities for our millions it will certainly be a step in the right direction, but if the aim is to produce commodities for international markets, our agriculturalists will do well to beware. Already, owing to greed, our farmers have burnt their fingers by trying commercial crops during a boom season, but the same have left them in the lurch during periods of depression. They forget that they do not possess the economic reserve to step into speculative business with impunity. It will be time for us to consider production for international markets when exchange policies and prices of international markets are controlled for the benefit of all and not merely in the interests of a few who are powerful

enough to make their voices heard. In the absence of such conditions, the only wise course for us is to cater for local needs and steer clear as far as possible of middlemen.

If only we can detach ourselves from the turmoil of the modern world we shall see clearly the havoc caused by the unnatural "pack type" of organisation. If the urge is from within his work should leave the worker a better man. Nature has so planned it that we improve by working if our work follows the natural order. For example, if a person who has the talents of an artist is made to drive a car it will be disastrous to the occupants of that car. He will only attain his full height if he is allowed to follow his natural inclination. We can tell by the effect work produces on a person if he is in his proper place. But when we look at the workers under the "pack type" what do we find? Are they better human beings for their toil? On the contrary, we find a set of men and women whose life and energy have been sapped. The diagnosis is simple. There is a parasite feeding on their life. They suffer from nervous disorders as we have already noted in the second chapter. Therefore, their method of production is unnatural and must lead ultimately to decay and destruction.

What, we have to ask ourselves, is all this pressure of life for? The "pack type" believes in increasing the standard of living. What does this mean but a hankering after an extension of its market? If by a higher standard of life is meant increasing the multiplicity of wants, has this, as is so often claimed, brought about happiness or freedom from drudgery? Has the working woman in England with her "higher standard of life" exemplified by a carpeted floor and a larger house with furniture, any greater freedom from drudgery than her Indian sister with a cowdunged floor and a charpai? If anything the English working woman has perhaps a greater amount of everyday drudgery for the carpets have to be brushed, the dishes and plates washed and wiped, while the furniture and glass windows need dusting and polishing, and her linen has to be washed and ironed. Has she not in reality increased her drudgery? Is her happiness any greater? One thing, however, her higher standard of life has assuredly done. It has created a demand for the capitalist's production. More building and furnishing materials are sold; there is a demand for vacuum cleaners to clean carpets and so on. Is not then even consumption under the "pack type" an enslavement to drudgery? The greater our material possessions the greater

our bondage to earth. The advocate of a "higher standard of life" will do well to realise that he is an agent for the sale of the capitalist's goods. We lead such artificial lives under the "pack type" that we lose sight of the natural order of things and thereby fall an easy prey to the wiles of exploiters.

CHAPTER V

The place of Women

While man possesses initiative in a great measure and is venturesome, woman is by nature much more conservative and conventional. Generally speaking, man is objective while woman is subjective. If we may use such an analogy, man may be said to belong to the "pack" and woman to the "herd", type. This being so, each sex partakes of the characteristics of its type. We noted that Eastern men whom we regard as falling under the "herd" type do not follow leadership easily in committees and such like. Women find it even more difficult than men to work in committees. Because of the "herd" type mentality they are conventional; and religion and social customs appeal to them more than to men. In the same way, Eastern men are said to be more religious and obey convention and regulation more readily than men of the West for the "herd" type is more law abiding than the "pack" type. Even in the "pack" type woman is less self-centred than man for her love covers the family.

Hence in all matters requiring the qualities of the "pack" type man is better suited to take the

lead where initiative and adventure are necessary.

The present system of production does not take into consideration the role that is assigned to women by nature. It will be generally admitted that by their very make up they are the custodians of a nation's culture and project into the future the achievements of the present generation. In primitive time consumption was controlled by women, while supplies were in the hands of men. If women did the cooking men provided food materials. If women needed a home men provided the wherewithal in the form of bamboos, thatch, mud walls etc. In the language of economics the woman was the creator of demand and the man's place was that of the supplier. As evolution advanced under the "herd" type, woman was given a place in the social control of production, and thus the rules of conduct and regulatory machinery were provided for. We find even today in India, in spite of the deplorable state of culture and the depth of ignorance and superstition to which women have sunk in our country, that they still play an overwhelming part in the everyday life of the nation. However advanced in his views and however cultured a man may be, it is often his wife's superstition and ignorance that rules the home and he pleads his inability to go against the dictates

of mother or wife. This is one of the main reasons why even though a large number of Indian men have acquired modern ways of living yet their homes are often to be found in insanitary and unhygienic conditions. Unless women are culturally equal to men there will be a disparity and social life will follow the level of development of the women. It will be next to impossible for men to put their ideas into practice unless their womenfolk also see eye to eye with them. Nature has endowed woman with certain faculties which are largely dormant in man, such as intuition. Hence their contribution in the economic sphere is bound to be different and the role they play will be distinct and will not overlap.

In the 'pack type" woman's place in the economic sphere was largely ignored. Under the dynasty of might she was merely a cave man's captive and her sexual allurements have made and unmade empires. Under the dynasty of finance she became the emblem of the social status of the financier. In her dress and manners she displayed the ostentatious mode of life made possible by necessary appurtenances drawn from all parts of the world. Her main function seemed to be to fight for such social rights as befitted the income of her man. With the advent of the machine, she fell further and

became either a mannequin advertising the wares of machine production which she began to consume as a result of high pressure salesmanship or she became "emancipated" to the extent that she entered factories as a producing hand, where the machine-owner exploited her lack of staying power by giving her lower wages. When labour came into power she was assigned an equal place with man as a producer. But in all these various forms of "pack" type economic organisations she has not found the true place assigned to her by nature as the creator of demand and the custodian of national culture. Machine owners produce articles and suggest to women that they should consume them and women have been following fashions blindly and by readily walking into this trap have become mere consumers. Today, whatever may be the claim for equality of the sexes and whatever may be the result of enfranchisement of women in the political sphere, they remain an excellent market for the consumption of machine made goods. They have abdicated their natural role to the profit motive which now directs economic production and has assumed the part that should have been played by women had they realised their true calling. Man is working single-handed in the economic sphere as a supplier without the aid of

his partner who should have by her demand laid down the lines on which production should proceed. The enormous maladjustment we find in the world today is in no small measure due to women not occupying their proper place in the economic sphere. Even in the "pack" type, unless woman assumes her rightful place and dethrones the profit motive, there will be no hope for a natural order of economic production. Once, however, women take their proper place, the subsidiary activities dependent on the home will fall into proper alignment and this will surely lead to human progress.

Woman has proved herself an easy prey to psychological suggestions made by advertisers. If women will assert themselves and become discriminating buyers, even if they do nothing else, we shall find a transformation in the variety of goods produced. After all the bulk of the commodities produced and put on the market are for the home and therefore come within the purview of the woman who is the home maker. When women come into their own and play their role well we shall realise fully the truth in the old adage that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.

CHAPTER VI

International Strife

In primitive days violence attached to hunting and fishing and to disputes over the sharing of property. In the "pack type" aggression constitutes an essential feature. In the dynasty of might it forms the very basis for its successful working, the motive urge being personal aggrandisement, expansion and extension of rights, achievement of personal ambition or wreaking vengance on an adversary.

In the dynasty of finance might and finance entered into partnership and bred imperialism, An armed power was necessary to maintain, safeguard and expand distant fields for the investment of capital from which good interest could be drawn. In the machine age, because of the heavy investment entailed in the instruments of production, it became necessary to produce as much as possible in a limited time because, if the machinery were allowed to be idle, the overhead charges which are a constant factor would assume a larger proportion of the cost of the finished articles. To reduce this it had to be distributed over as large a quantity of goods as possible. Therefore, the incentive for large product-ion without regard to the existing market is in the

very nature of a system of production based on expensive tools or instruments.

In addition to this, when individualistic control and free trade doctrines are promulgated, the desire for competitive production tends towards production without relation to the market. In both these cases it becomes necessary to find markets for the supplies that have been created. There is also the need to control distant raw material sources to enable the producer to obtain a steady flow of raw material. Division of labour is carried to an extreme. A nation that is industrialised depends for its very existence on its sources of raw material and on markets for its finished articles. The control of these forms a veritable struggle for existence. These factors lead to the need for obtaining and retaining markets which end can only be achieved by keeping down or controlling other people by force. Anyone who interferes with the raw material source or with the market is like a person trying to snatch a bone from a hungry dog. Such interference leads to violence. In the case of labour organisations of production, because the power, control, and planning are centralised a considerable amount of sanctions are needed for proper carrying out of plans. The urge for production being external and not from within is

unnatural and therefore needs coercion and violence. Regulation is by force and the system itself being run much on the lines of capitalistic and individualistic methods of production can be converted at a moment's notice into any of the other forms of the "pack type". Hence it attracts the attention of highly armed nations and as a means of protection it involves large scale armaments.

It is because of these reasons that at the present time Western nations are finding it impossible to bring about a peaceful regulation of affairs. All wars and international disturbances today have their roots in the "pack type" economic systems of production and as long as these exist, it follows as the effect the cause that there must be and will be war. No amount of agreement between nations, however well meant, will lead to disarmament. We have seen the impotency of the resolutions passed by the League of Nations. In effect, this league has become a league of wolf-packs and cannot be converted into anything else so long as international relations are based on the present economic structure. If we in India also follow these types of economic organisation, it will be next to impossible for us to avoid the consequences of such systems. Unfortunately, Japan has deviated from the "herd type" of

economic organisation and has gone whole-heartedly into "pack type" with the result that she has become as aggressive and imperialistic as any of the western nations. "He who draws the sword will perish by the sword". Do we subscribe to the ideals that underlie methods of economic production as we see them in the West, or shall we evolve a type which will be different in its very nature from the "pack type" by following the lines that have been laid down by the civilisation that has grown up in our own country and has produced the "herd type" of economic order? In doing so it will not be necesary for us to follow in detail the original rules and regulations as they were made for a certain specific stage in evolution and will not suit our purposes in the modern world, but it will be possible for us to evolve an order which will curb individual greed, increase production in relation to demand and confine it as well as its marketing to the needs of the people.

What is the situation in the world today? The world is surcharged with violence. Nations are gnashing their teeth and snarling at each other under the cloak of armed neutrality and an ostensible "peace". There is hidden hatred and enmity in every hand stretched out in "brotherhood". All talk of championing weak nations is motivated by selfishness, greed

and avarice. Professions of a desire to civilise backward nations and to bring light and learning to those who sit in darkness are the excrescence of Imperialism. In short, we see wolves stalking the land as lambs.

We noticed that the movements of these dumb creatures are conditioned by search for food and hunger is the urge behind their labours. They reap where they sowed not; they consume without producing. Their ferocity is increased in the same ratio as the scarcity of food Or, in economic language, if such may be used, the intensity of the demand causes violence, for supply is limited and competition for that which is available is sharpened.

The position is not very different when we come to man in the nomadic stage. He, like the animal, is not able to increase supply to meet the demand but moves about from scarcity to plenty, and anyone who stands in his way falls a prey to his wrath. His production, if any, is very limited and his consumption is predatory, nature being generally the victim. The directive force which fashions his movements could again be said to be hunger in a larger sense i.e. his very elementary and savage needs He also finds that his demands are not always met by nature and when this is so there is competition and violence.

From the nomad we pass on to the agriculturist who, for the first time, tries to equate supply with demand by aiding nature i.e. by his production. Thus he is able to control supply. He is able to meet even his greater needs in the shape of food, clothing and shelter. He produces what he needs and consumes to his satisfaction. In this stage, as the diversity between demand and supply is not great, competition is curbed, There is no unwholesome pressure to increase consumption artificially and hence, the generation of violence is lessened. Supply follows demand and the production is to order i. e. definitely directed towards satisfying an existing need. We may call it a "bespoken economic order". A man needs a pair of shoes and these are made to fit his particular feet and their shape. Only in this manner can the demand be fully satisfied. The ability or the ingenuity of the producer expands with the exacting nature of the demand and leads to the development of his skill and personality, and thereby contributes to the culture of the age. As long as the producer rises equal to the occasion and satisfies the demand there is no room for violence. Every one eats of his vine and of his fig tree and drinks the waters of his cistern and there is peace in the land.

In the "pack" type the nomad's dependence on nature is forgotten. The agriculturist's attempt to supplement nature is carried to the other extreme and man celebrates his "conquest" over nature. Nature's forces are harnessed to serve man. Various devices to aid man in his activities have been invented. But here again he has overreached himself and the machine that was intended to be a servant has become the master, thus reducing the bulk of mankind to abject slavery. Supply has made larger strides than demand. In the earlier stages the struggle was to increase the supply. Now overproduction loudly calls for an increase in demand. Machinery spells standardisation and large scale production. Even then this does not meet the demand correctly. A man in Bombay wants a pair of shoes. He goes into a shop and he is presented with footwear made in Northampton by a shoemaker who has never set eyes on the customer. The shoe manufacturer makes standard sizes and without trouble he easily multiplies the numbers. He does not wait for orders. Like Pat-a-cake, the baker's man, he makes them as fast as he can and ships them to various parts of the world for sale. The supply comes into existence without knowledge of the extent of the demand and then, perforce, has to try and create it. The bare-

footed natives have to be "civilised" in order to be made to wear European shoes. This leads to violence. Again, in an industry like the steel industry powerful vested interests influence the Government to find outlets for their products. The Government seeks out "backward" peoples and builds railways and bridges for them while the children of the "backward" peoples are starving both physically and mentally. All these standardised products can be turned out in large quantities without much extra cost and markets have to be found for these supplies. Such a state of things naturally leads to violence. Still worse is the case of the manufacturer of armaments, who is obviously interested in nurturing belligerent conditions which make for a boom period in his business. Violence is the very essence of his success. In the past, the directive forces which stimulated economic activity were the natural hunger of the savage and the nomad and the discomforts of the sensitive body of the agriculturist. These were nature's urge or goad. But now we have artificially to increase demand by habits cultivated by imitation or custom, so that the excess in production may be absorbed. Food, clothing and shelter were nature's demand but tobacco, lipstick, rouge and face powder are examples of the demand cultivated by imitation

and custom. In many cases even if the consumer is indifferent, the producer, by modern methods of advertisement and other means of propaganda, persuades the public to use that which is unnecessary and has no real utility and makes business for himself by the sale of his goods.

Thus we notice that the forces that formerly directed economic activity have shifted from the purpose of making good the shortage of supply to meeting the shortage of demand or, in other words, overproduction.

A study of history teaches us that when a people's demand is too difficult of satisfaction, their culture and civilisation die. This situation may arise either by their inability to produce as in the case of the Red Indians of America, or in the degeneration of the race as is seen in the downfall of every great empire. In the latter case, supply is increased by booty, loot and the exploitation of captured races as slaves, actually or constructively. To consume such predatory wealth the standards of life are artificially increased. Consumption takes place without production. Before long such a civilisation collapses as it has no back bone. Predatory consumption is not conducive to growth but undermines the stamina of the people. A nation can flourish only as long as its demand

can be met by its productivity. When there is not much disparity between demand and supply the nation advances culturally. India, China and Egypt have to look back to the days of their agricultural civilization for the heyday of their cultures. In the west, the Industrial age produced a transitory culture during the mid Victorian era, but it was not long before the supply went far ahead of the demand and steeped the world in that barbarism and despair wherein we find ourselves today. Indeed, we can boast of knowledge and the advance of Science but that is not true culture. The pressure of life today is not conducive thereto, There is no true leisure. We have to equate our supply and demand but not artificially. Until we are able to do this, violence will stalk the land. At present we are in a state of unstable equilibrium and our "civilization", such as it is, may topple over any moment.

We must inevitably check the artificial creation of demand. This cuts at the root of all imperialism. People have to evolve their own culture after their own fashion without any attempt on the part of the outsider to "bring civilization to backward peoples". Avarice, as a motive for production, has to be curbed and the extent of each person's economic activity has to be limited to his capacity in such a way that the

weaker members are not exploited. Under capitalism profit motive is allowed free play without regard to any other consideration. Goods are produced for mmediate gain and in a manner which gleans the profits into a few pockets only. This leads to a shortage of necessaries, overproduction of luxuries and maldistribution of wealth, while the masses are reduced to undernourished machine feeders. This state of affairs has generated class consciousness resulting in the conflict of Capital and Labour. On the other hand, Soviet Communism has given up the profit motive but has intensified class hatred. Its working has resulted in a greater concentration of power than under capitalism where we get a concentration of wealth which is a lesser evil. The workers have little initiative which is a prerequisite for the formattion of any culture. We should not aim at producing a Robot but at developing the individuality of persons however many may be their inconsistencies and incongruities. Material advancement is worth nothing when it is obtained either at the cost of the individual's personality, or at the cost of bringing about class hatred.

The production of supplies without reference to existing demands has created a complexity of circumstances. To dispose of the excess production markets

have to be found. Competition has assumed a keenness never before known. To increase the consumers i.e. the demand, it was necessary to complicate the lives of simple folks or to "civilize" them. The eagerness to capture makets and "civilize" backward peoples has led not only to jealousies between industrialised nations but also to resistance on the part of the victims and these have, in their turn, led to armaments and violence on a scale in keeping with large scale production which is the root of the trouble. In this turmoil there can be no room for real culture as all energies are concentrated either on feeding violence or on combating it.

Part III

The Solution

CHAPTER VII

Industrialisation

Agriculture had, as its complement in the past, various kinds of subsidary handicrafts. In many industries payments were made to artisans in kind from agricultural products. In fact such industries as were in existence were but the workshop of the farmers for supplying their tools, implements and other necessaries.

With the advance of civilisation daily requirements increased in quality, quantity and variety. To supply these artisans carried on their trade until recent years in the vicinity of towns in the form in which it had been carried on in the past. The producer required little or no capital apart from what was needed for his simple tools, and even these he often made himself. The question of marketing had not assumed the dignity of a problem. As there was a very small percentage of profits the accumulation of capital was slow. Because of the existence

of various industries and the rigidity of the division of labour as practised under the caste system, the pressure on the land was comparatively little.

With the industrialisation of Western countries all this changed. India was turned into a market for goods from the West and utilised as an opportunity for the develoment of their industries. For instance, while the pressing need of India was canals for irrigation and transport, railways were built to afford opportunities of development for the then growing steel industries of England as also for strategic considerations. On this account the various complementary and supplementary industries disappeared and those who were practising such industries fell back on the land, thereby increasing the pressure there. If we aim at relieving this pressure we must detail off a large percentage of the population to other occupations. Further the glamour of English education as introduced by Macaulay, drew away to towns and cities those who would have; in the ordinary course of events, supplied to the village the initiative, the imagination and the technique required in every industry. Thus the village was left mainly with the drudge to carry on his occupation according to age old methods.

Under the influence of capitalism, people have come to believe that price is all that matters. As the directing power under capitalism is the profit motive all the emphasis in life is placed on money values. In our ancient organisation, however, values were otherwise determined. The richest of men and princes fell at the feet of a saint. The Brahmin was at the head of all castes and not the Bania. The Kshatriya paid his homage to the savant. Even ordinarily, does a woman buy a thing just because it is the cheapest? If a flimsy silk with a beautiful pattern is offered at a higher price along side of a coarse and durable material at a lower price, will she not choose the one with the beautiful pattern? What is the standard of value she uses? Not the price nor durability nor the quality of the material but the aesthetic value. At least in India who will allow his brother and his family to starve and with money so saved buy finery for himself? Does money value guide his decision or do love and duty? We had evolved a sense of values based on human considerations and it is quite within the range of possibility to revive it in our country.

If village life is to be resuscitated it will be imperative for men of high calibre, with the requisite initiative and imagination, to live in villages and

solve rural problems with the help also of modern scientific methods This is a process which requires considerable amount of re-adjustment in our society as organised at present. Mere mechanical re-adjustment may relieve the situation immediately but no proper or lasting solution will be found unless we plan a new order based on evolution in human thought and action. Mere introduction of large scale machinery, for example, as is used in the West, will not solve the problem. Such methods have been tried in various industries and have proved an utter failure. For instance, if instead of hand-looms we introduce power-looms for weaving saris we are at once confronted with a variety of problems which complicate rather than remove our original difficulties. Let us assume that the power loom is four times as efficient as the hand loom so far as production goes. Let us assume also that the hand loom weaver used to make about 150 saris in a year most of which would normally be marketed during the marriage season. The loom itself might cost in the neighbourhood of Rs. 75—0—0 and if the saris on an average cost about Rs. 4—0—0 each he could carry on his trade with a small capital of about Rs. 300—0—0. The moment we introduce power looms his production become 600 saris per year The market does not

extend 4 times as quickly, for we cannot, for the benefit of the weavers, have four marriage seasons in the year. The result is that with a more or less stationary market he requires Rs. 2400 to produce his stuff and the loom itself would cost about Rs, 800—o—o. Instead of a capital of Rs 300—o—o he now requires a capital in the neighbourhood of Rs. 3000—o—o and even then he would have all his capital locked up until the marriage season. This situation results in competition and forced selling in order to recover his capital and capture as much of the market as he can. Usually the type of man who has been a hand loom weaver does not posses the requisite capital and he either gets into the hands of the money lender or has to sell out. A four-fold increase of production also requires the qualities in the man to be made four times keener. Under the Western individualistic type of civilisation people combine for purposes of economic activity. In our own forms of culture the combination is only for consolidating our position and safeguarding the interest of the weaker ones. Therefore it is that we often find that the methods of co operative production as introduced by Westerners do not work in our country, the human element not being suited to them.

If in the illustration we have assumed, the situation continues as depicted, in time the hand loom weavers will all be out of business and so will the single unit power loom weavers and their business will drift into the hands of capitalists. The weavers will then become machine feeders or factory hands and we shall be reproducing in our country all the attendant evils of industrialised factory methods that we find in the West, culminating in war and violence.

Besides, under capitalistic methods of production the introduction of large scale machinery has not solved the question of employment. Countries like England and America which have been highly industrialised for several decades suffer acutely from unemployment. Large scale machinery was a resuls of forced circumstances in America, where man was up against natural difficulties such as long distancet, vast water courses, lofty mountains and scarcity of labour. To overcome these he had to grow, as it were, extra hands in the form of machinery. Therefore the function that machinery played was one of labour saving. But in our country and in all well settled countries labour itself is the best means of distribution of wealth. If a man includes large scale mnchinery under his system of production he over-

weights the scale in his favour to that extent. If we look upon labour as a means of distributing wealth then we cannot have much use for the type of machinery that has been evolved by Western civilisation, for instead of distributing wealth, such machinery concentrates it in the hands of a few. The type of machinery we need must be such as will minimise drudgery but at the same time will not provide room for exploitation.

We find today that machinery has been invented with the basic idea of exploitation and, therefore, the worker is not taken into consideration. What we need to do is to find simple machinery which will be within the means of the average producer in India.

If we look upon production itself as a means of distribution of wealth then the larger number of producers we have the more evenly will wealth be distributed, It is not conceivable that any nation can become a nation of millionaires; so if wealth in our country is to be distributed amongst the masses the means of production should be within the reach of all. In planning such an industrial organistion we do not aspire to produce men with incomes running into five and six figures, but to supply food and shelter to everybody. There is no objection to

machinery as such. If there is any objection it is to such machinery as has been devised to concentrate the profits into a few hands.

In Western industrial organisation, the interest of the producer himself does not figure as an end but in any system that we produce we must keep as our central aim the welfare and the well being of the producer and his family. In the West even where labour has evolved its own organisation the emphasis is largely on the material rather than on the human element. As against this, it must be remembered that it is not the multitude of things that we possess that makes us happy. In the "pack type," whether under capitalism or under communism, it is thought that however soulless one's work may be it is possible to supply this lack by devoting some time outside the factory for cultural development. Culture of the true type, however, cannot be thus separated from our daily work. Work makes us what we are and develops the dormant qualities within us. Nothing else will enable a man to realise his true self. A man who spends his entire life in an occupation which involves his merely carrying out the orders of others cannot even hope to develop a sense of responsibility. Without initiative there can be no development of personality much less of any abiding

form of culture. The system of production itself must form part of life and make life worth living. Under the centralised industrial system production has become a nerve racking process. We should look upon production as a continuation of the schooling of our youth. It should possess character building qualities as well as afford an education to the producer. If this can be carried out, though the material welfare of the people may not be on a par with the plutocrats of the West, yet the general level of happiness will be much greater and it will produce a nation of a higher average intelligence and character, which in its turn will be a profitable reservoir from which leaders can be drawn.

Planned economy, on the other hand, emphasises the material production rather than the development of the individual. To enforce the plan it is necessary to resort to violence. Such production is not natural and, therefore, cannot be lasting,

When power gets concentrated in the hands of a few initiative ceases and man is dwarfed. Such a system must lead ultimately to a form of slavery merely for the purpose of obtaining material goods.

It is commonly suggested that it is possible to afford opportunities for culture by means of provid-

ing leisure under the "pack type" system if the hours of work are restricted. Is this possible? If the U. S. A. labourers can content themselves with the standard of life prevailing in India by working for two hours a day only, will they devote their leisure to cultural pursuits? In all probability instead of doing this they will idle away their time and thus be led into demoralisation and decay.

The gilded homes of the capitalists of Britain seem to lead people to imagine that by industrialisation all poverty can be banished. Industrialisation requires much capital if it is to be broad based. We can get all the needed capital for a few sugar mills or a few steel plants but that does not industrialise the country. The impetus that Britain got was predatory. But for the transfer of hoards of wealth from our land such industrialisation would have been impossible. There can be no industrialisation without predation as the needed capital cannot be accumulated out of individual efforts within a life time. Britain is still at the breasts of India. If the infant is hefty, credit is due to the mother's milk. What will happen when the infant has to be weaned and has to forage for himself? The new Russia is still a babe in the life of nations and she has her store

of confiscated wealth to feed on for some centuries more. Industrialisation on a national scale has not been achieved anywhere as yet. It seems an impossibility without predation and, therefore, without violence.

In both capitalism and communism, then, there is room and need for violence, and great concentration of power in a few hands. Because of their failure to establish a healthy equilibrium between supply and demand we are led to advocate individual units of production rather than collective units. This adjustment in itself will reduce the excess of supplies. Markets should be localised and only the surplus, after satisfying local needs, ought to find distant markets.

The present economic system reminds one of old time steamers which could be sunk by springing one hole in the hull but modern steamers have water-tight compartments which prevent the ship from sinking, even if a part is damaged. Similarly, when over production and the market are not centralised, the dangers of the system, as a whole, coming to grief are few. In such a decentralised system the danger of violence too is greatly minimised.

CHAPTER VIII

The Function of Work

[We shall bring together in this chapter the views in regard to work expressed incidentally in the earlier pages. If in the process we repeat ourselves, it is only because the topic is important for an adequate consideration of what should be the basis of a new economic order for our country.]

Should our purpose be one of making work for men? If it should, then what is the virtue in making work? Is it charity? Is work a curse or a blessing? What does work bring to man? Do men improve by working or do they wear out? We shall spend a few moments considering these and similar questions.

The supply of good wholesome food material and other honest products is in itself a worthy object. It is social work of a high order especially in these days of adulteration. Finding employment for the unemployed may also be considered a praiseworthy humanitarian work. If we stop at these have we fulfilled our mission in life? If work were only a matter of supplying goods whyn ot go in for mass production whereby larger quantties may be supplied? Work for work's sake idealises drudgery. Drudgery is to be minimised and

one who makes drudges of men is no benefactor. Then what is it we are after?

One of the things that distinguish man from beast is religion. By religion people generally understand ceremonial worship. If a man is truly religious his every action should declare the glory of his Maker. Ordinarily understood religion occupies only a little fraction of man's waking hours. Most of his time is spent in work. Practically all his thought is concentrated on it and his life consists of what he does. This being so, work is even more consequential than ceremonial religion. We may almost say that work is the practical side of religion To deny man his opportunity to work is therefore to deny him the privilege of being a full fledged human being if religion differentiates man from beast. Looked at this way work denied to man is like denying him entry into a temple. Economically, the unemployed are like the untouchables in society. Both stages are equally degrading to man. Banishing unemployment is like throwing open the doors of a temple to everybody. It is in the fitness of things that Gandhiji went on his Harijan tour and finished it with founding the All India Village Industries Association. He started with making ceremonial worship possible for everybody and ended by attempting to bring home

to everyone the practice of religion in the form of work.

This may sound fanciful. A little clear thinking will, however, show that from a practical point of view the function that work plays in society is even more important than that of ceremonial religion. It is easy to profess to love God in the abstract, but it is difficult to show one's love of God in one's everyday dealings with one's neighbour. The first represents the ordinary conception of religion and the latter the real function of work. If we do not love the brother we have seen how shall we love God whom we have not seen?

From this aspect work is, as already said, even more important than ceremonial religion. But work has not always been looked upon as sacred.

According to Aristotle slavery was ordained by Nature. Work devoid of its opportunity for self-expression becomes drudgery, and slavery is the result. In consequence the civilisation of Greece and Rome regarded work as an evil. In the measure in which a man could free himself from work or heavy toil he gained social status. Slaves were ordained by nature to toil away. Under such ideals these civilisations collapsed. We still find the same view point on

work projected into the economic organisations of the West.

We may divide our daily activities into three kinds:—

1. exertion under external order
2. exertion for its own sake
3. exertion with a self chosen purpose

The first form is slavery and saps the vital energy of human life. The second form is one in which there is physical development or pleasure as in games and play, but it is in the third we find true work with an aim which leads to the development of the higher faculties in man.

If work for work's sake was good than slavery may be said to be goodness itself in "pill form". What was then wrong with slavery? Initiative was taken away and this led to decay of personality. Thus the seed of mental development was sterilised. All that was left was drudgery. In its proper place drudgery is no evil but by itself it is a drag. Just as for good digestion we need a good deal of roughage we need 90 or 95% of drudgery to get the best out of work, and just as if we eat only the roughage and no food our stomach will suffer and life may become extinct, so also if we have only drudgery

and no initiative all progress will be at an end and society will die. The toil of slavery is not work but drudgery and hence it spells death. If we give drudgery to the masses, as is done under the methods of large scale production, there is nothing but social death awaiting us. The irksomeness in slavery is largely due to external compulsion having taken the place of willing cooperation or personal initiative. We have seen that the first type leads to deterioration and death and, therefore, taking into consideration the wear and tear of human life slavery is the most extravagant form of labour.

In a predatory stage, honest work is looked down upon. A person is regarded clever if he can acquire the greatest amount of material gain with the least amount of exertion. Physical work is certainly at a discount. It is because of this view point that exploitation has gained ground. The mentally alert, in order to save themselves from work have lorded it over the less assertive ones whom they have forced to work for them. Further, in this stage, work is looked upon as a means of acquiring wealth. Wealth in its turn is not sought after for the means of providing the primary needs of life but for the acquisition of control over the lives of other men or, in other words, for power. Work in this sense

is a dangerous instrument in the hands of the ambitious for it leads to the enslavement of weaker persons. Just as a steel blade may be used as a dagger to stab an enemy or as a knife to cut an edible fruit work may be either a deadly weapon or a faithful servant of man. Under western methods of production work leads to concentration of power and that, is an unfailing proof that work in the West is misdirected into wrong channels. It does not matter whether the concentrated power is used for good or evil. If the means are bad the end cannot justify them. Both under Capitalism and under Communism work aims at or results in concentration of power. In Capitalism power is concentrated in the hands of the Capitalist and in Communism in the hands of the few who run the State. Workers under such circumstances exist to work; man is regarded as made for work and he ends up by becoming a slave. He labours and some one else gets the power his labour generates. Such work saps the life of man and leaves him exhausted at the end of the day. This is the part played by work in all, so called, industrially advanced countries of the world today. The working man functions as "dumb driven cattle". All initiative is taken out of him, he becomes a cogwheel in the economic machinery. With the deprivation

of initiative he loses interest and all sense of responsibility. He ceases to think and the more he gets into the meshes of the powerful the less resisting power he possesses to escape from the disaster awaiting him.

We need not dwell long on the second type. It is essential within limits. Play has its place in a well ordered life but if it assumes the place of a main objective in life then "all play and no work will make Jack a dull boy". The lower strata of ancient Greece and Rome were slaves and passed out of existence as animals do. The higher strata of society took to play and amusement and they developed physically but met with ultimate destruction morally and spiritually.

It is only in the last type that we find man at his best. What builds our character is not the great decisions of life but the solutions we come to on small questions from day to day. Work absorbs most of our waking hours and many of the problems connected with work and our dealings with our fellow men are what determine the nature of our life. Therefore, it behoves us to sit up and take note of what our work makes of us. If we analyse world history correctly we shall find that civilisations were what

they were because of the nature of the economic life of the people. Religion may have infused ideals but work was the laboratory in which they were tried out. Therefore work can play a much wider part in the development and growth of a nation than institutional or ceremonial religion and yet how much conscious thought do leaders bestow on this formidable force? Properly directed work affords facilities for the development of patience, perseverance, initiative, creativeness and originality and with it self-confidence a sense of responsibility, accuracy and eye for detail and fine finish. Work is indeed a school for life.

In both Capitalism and Communism, or as a matter of that, in all large scale production, the worker becomes a mere hand where head and heart are hardly exercised. In such economic organisations culture has to be acquired outside work, so far as this is possible. Psychologically, this is an altogether artificial way of introducing culture into people who have been deprived of it through the natural channel of work. If this is to be rectified and work be made a means of obtaining culture, or in other words a means of developing one's personality in all its three aspects of intelligence, character and artistic sense, then it is obvious that work cannot be planned and dictated from the centre, but must be decentral-

ised, In this undertaking of setting work back in its rightful place the greatest difficulty is to overcome the ideas that have been instilled into the people by a false system of education inculcating wrong standards of value. The Village Industries Association which seeks to restore work to its proper place in the life of the nation has therefore to work against great odds. It has not only to change the present day ideology in regard to work — a matter which cannot be done in a day — but it has also to provide new methods of work. Inventions reflect the mental attitude with which problems are approached. As already said, in the last two centuries machinery has been so devised as to concentrate power. We have to discountenance the use of such aids to production but in time we hope to substitute these by such tools as will lessen drudgery without concentrating power.

A greater achievement will be to combat the prevailing idea of work and instil into peoples' minds that work must have as its end the well being of the worker.

In work of the type ordained by nature there is little use for so called leisure. People will find it much easier to spend their time working under congenial conditions than to use leisure profitably. To use

leisure properly one has to have a high degree of self-discipline which is one of the valuable products of true work. If in the course of our daily work we get ample room for the expression of our personality then there will be no need for leisure. Of course, there will be physical weariness which is healthy and which needs repose and relaxation in sleep and rest.

The moment we shift the emphasis from men to the material we lose sight of the true function of work. If in a training institution young men spend their efforts in handling planes, hammer and chisel they may waste wood, but they are developing their muscles and skill. On the other hand if they are made to feed sawing machines and to use their time in producting fine furniture by elaborate machinery the emphasis is on material gain and not on the training. Is finely carved and finished furniture more important than the skill of the young men?

If we would save man from being degraded into a beast or an automaton we have to face this situation and find a solution wherein work will cease to be a means of concentrating wealth and power but will become a means of distributing wealth. If this is achieved there will not be the meteoric careers of millionaires but we shall have a few more annas put into the pockets of the starving millions. This will

increase the real wealth of the nation even if the money value be the same. If one lakh of rupees be concentrated in the hands of one person the utility of that amount to the person who possesses it is as nothing as compared to the utility of the same one lakh if it were distributed among one hundred thousand poor people and found them their daily bread. Today all work is directed towards producing the articles by which the largest profits can be made rather than to meeting man's primary requirements. Therefore the poor man's needs are forgotten while there is a glut in the rich man's luxuries.

The idea that production should aim at supplying the needs of the worker rather than at acquiring wealth or power is what underlies the programme of the Village Industries Association which concentrates its attention on industries that meet the primary needs of the people such as the production of articles of food, clothing and shelter. This is again seen in the All India Spinners' Association's programme of self sufficiency under which the spinners have to provide themselves with clothing out of their own spinning.

If we had merely to float downstream and produce goods in the accepted fashion of today, with-

out having to fight against various forms of ignorance taught in schools and colleges to suit the ends of modern producers, it would be possible to show quick results but the work of leavening and remoulding the cultural and economic foundations of society which is the task undertaken by the Village Industries Association requires time, infinite patience and perseverance.

From our point of view any wrong use of work is sin and causes sorrow. Western organisations have, as repeatedy pointed out, looked upon work as a means of accumulating wealth i.e. gathering in the available purchasing power from everybody to obtain control over the lives of men. This has naturally led to jealousies and violence. Can anything else be expected? Unless we bestir ourselves and restore work to its proper place and man to his natural diginity and allow work to develop the masses, there is little hope of finding persons who will be able to bear responsibility and steer the helm of state to peace and prosperity.

CHAPTER IX

The Present programme.

It is impossible to overlook in any country the organisation needed to provide food and other primary necessities and agriculture ought, therefore, to be the greatest amongst occupations. To carry on this occupation profitably, we require a considerable and close study of nature on a scientific basis for it is an occupation in which man attempts to control nature and his own environment in such a way as to produce the best results. This work cannot possibly be carried on individualistically because it requires a considerable amount of time for experimentation, going often beyond the proverbial three score years and ten which may fall to the lot of the long lived ones. Many of the experiments in cross breeding to bring out special strains in particular crops have to be tested through several generations before they can be put into the practical field on a commercial scale. This type of work can only be done by the state for the people, and when it is done, unless the result of the experimentation is brought home to the cultivator and he is afforded every encouragement to carry it on, it will be useless. Merely improving tools without consider-

ing the conditions under which the man works, will not solve the problem.

Next to agriculture probably the greatest industry is the production of clothing. This may be used as a subsidiary industry to agriculture which, in our country, hardly occupies even half the working days in a year. If we can usefully employ the idle hours of the farmer that in itself will afford sufficient wealth to increase greatly the purchasing power of the people. This is a line in which a wise attempt has been made and considerable success achieved by the programme of work laid out by the All India Spinners' Association.

There are also other industries which help to decrease the pressure on land by drawing off the idle population and providing work for them. We may divide these into (a) industries which affect the whole country because the products are in universal demand, and (b) cottage industries which provide curios and luxury articles.

Under the first group we may bring in occupations which are closely connected with the production of food from raw materials, such as flour grinding, de-husking of paddy, oil pressing, gurmaking etc. Then there are other industries which may provide

universal subsidiary occupations to the agriculturists such as bee-keeping, sericulture, lac cultivation etc. Then we have many occupations which touch definite communities but, at the same time, are spread over the whole country, such as tanning, paper-making, rope-making, basket-making, pottery, bricks, tiles, carpentary, blacksmithy, etc These industries may well be called the main village industries.

Apart from these, under the second group we have cottage-industries for the manufacture of luxury articles and others, the demand for which may not be so universal but which are in use every day, such as soap making, printing, dyeing, works of art, metal industries etc. Unless we have our industries broad based and well organised to supplement each other the country cannot be an economic unit.

As we have already seen, international trade should only be confined to such articles as cannot be consumed locally because, owing to the present economic barriers to be met with even within our own country, it is not possible to ensure full returns to the producer. As long as this state of affairs continues and the producer has no hold on international markets and is not well enough equipped to understand their working, it will be suicidal for him to attempt to go beyond the borders of our land. As

far as practicable we have to attempt to convert raw materials into finished products before they leave the locality in which the raw material is found.

The All India Village Industries Association has been formed to carry out this function and the method adopted by this Association may be divided into three groups.

1. It tries to stop wastage and to convert waste materials to good purpose.

2. It attempts to conserve the resources at present available to the villagers.

3. It attempts to utilise profitably the hours of leisure and introduce such work as will increase the wealth of the people.

As an instance of the first item on the programme we may mention the question of nutrition, sanitation and hygiene. Situated as we are, man is the most important factor and motive power in our economic system. If he is allowed to remain in an under-nourished condition and is weakened by various diseases then production suffers. A balanced diet, therefore, becomes a necessity. As it is, many of our villagers have barely sufficient cereal to consume. They have practically no vegetables or other elements that are necessary to supply the requirements of the

body. It is therefore, a criminal waste for them to take whatever cereal is available to them in a nutritively depleted form as they now do This is what happens, for example, when they get their rice polished in a mill, depriving the grains of the bran, mineral salts, oils, and pericarp, and leaving mainly the starch for food. It is not possible to go into all the details of the programme of the Association here, but this is stated merely as an illustration to indicate the method by which the problem is attacked.

In regard to the effort to conserve the resources at present available we may mention the attempt to utilise night soil and village waste in the form of manure, as well as the programme for the disposal of carcasses where by every part of the dead animal is used.

To illustrate the effort made to increase productivity we may mention the attempt to introduce subsidiary occupations such as bee-keeping, paper-making, lac culture etc.

The main purpose is to make production as broad based as possible and to aim at producing goods which the people themselves require rather than attempt the production of article required by the wealthy. As long as we produce articles which are

in universal demand, such as simple cotton clothing, village champals, sleeping-mats etc., the problem of marketing does not arise. When production aims at supplying the needs of the wealthy, though the margin of profit may be higher, yet the difficulties of marketing shift the gains of the occupation to the middleman. Also the number of people who can be profitably occupied becomes very small as the demand for such goods is confined to the rich.

Our purpose should be to distribute wealth amongst as many persons as possible and not to concentrate it in a few hands. Where articles require a little help in their marketing the Association attempts to do this also by introducing the producer and the consumer to each other through the medium of certified shops located in towns and cities, but the main emphasis is not on such goods as require this help.

The Association keeps in mind the poverty of the masses and advocates only such industries as require little or no capital, need simple equipment, are easy in technique and the manufactures of which find a ready market. The raw material should be locally available but if it is imported then the cost of such raw material should bear a very low percent-

age to the total cost of the finished product. If brass sheets are imported from abroad and the beaten brass vessel sells at Rs. 4 of which Rs. 3 represents the cost of the brass sheets then obviously 75% of the price paid finds its way out into distant markets. The remedy is to find substitutes for such vessels and stop our purchasing power being transferred to distant place. Production should be centred round the needs of the villagers, and under present conditions international trade should be at a discount. Things that provide the villager with better food, clothes aud shelter should be emphasised rather than articles meant for distant markets. Some missionaries have been attempting to introduce poultry-keeping in villages but their methods are not suitable. They introduce foreign birds such as Leghorns, Minorcas, Rhode Island Reds, and their crossbreeds. The eggs show a great improvement in size and the birds are fine, but the villager cannot afford to eat such fine eggs himself and so he sells them to city folk. The birds themselves are very expensive, need careful looking after and are not as resistant to disease as country fowl. If an epidemic comes the whole stock often dies. Such industry is speculative and, therefore beyond the capacity of our villagers. We would prefer to see an improvement in the eggs of the

country fowl and feel satisfied if the villagers themselves eat the eggs and sell only the surplus. Catering to a distant market makes them depend on the tender mercies of middle men.

When we import foreign articles we forget that we are throwing the bread of our children away to others and thus increasing the unemployed and partly employed. We are, in affect, using foreign servants. We are too poor to be able to do this. We cannot go on consuming without producing. We should try to see that all locally available raw materials are turned into finished articles before being marketed.

At present all our industries are slowly becoming curio trades. Every trade, the articles of which are widely used in our households, gives employment to several persons and the articles themselves are low priced. But the moment a trade shifts to cater for the curio hunter the article manufactured is a diminutive replica of the original and finds no market as a household article although it may fetch a higher price. The number of workers engaged in the trade accordingly diminish and middlemen appear to exploit the profits Hence such curio trades are not really in the national interest.

As the programme stands women can play an unrivalled part in building our frame-work on a solid

foundation. Practically the whole of the programme lies within the sphere of women—sanitation, hygiene, nutrition, clothing and household requirements. If women will make up their minds that they will not buy goods which have been produced by exploitation and go in only for articles produced in a decentralised way, they will give a great impetus to the revival of our countryside and place the nation on a sound economic basis.

The Association also attempts to provide expert technical advice and help to improve our age old methods of production.

By such efforts if we can safeguard the masses from the exploiters, if we can give them employment to fill their idle moments, if we can direct their activity into industries which have a ready and known demand, if we can help to increase their productivity without resorting to predation, if locally available law materials can be worked up in the most scientific way, then the nation will surely emerge from the slough of despond to a rock of hope and thence march on to prosperity.

CHAPTER X

International peace.

We have considered in the sixth chapter various factors which lead to strife amongst nations. We traced the seeds of dissension to the methods of economic production and the difficulties consequent on supplies preceding demands. In the previous two chapters we discussed methods of production. which distribute economic activities amongst the masses. Where there is decentralisation of this type it is not possible for such small producers to combine and create a menace to international peace. Raw materials will be exploited in the locality in which they are found and the products will also be disposed of amongst the people. If there is any international trade it will be of small magnitude. and it will not entail the necessity of controlling the source of raw materials. Nor will the supplies which will be scattered and small require "the civilising of backward races" in order to sell them. Supplies will follow a natural demand and no violence will be needed to equate the two. Every man will get the fruits of his own labour, however small it may be, and there will be no opportunity provided to make one wealthy at the cost of another with the aid of

violence. If women control demand, production will follow a natural course and we shall not witness a world glutted with one kind of commodity while it lacks others. Nor shall we have to resort to violence to establish equilibrium. Man will realise his inner urge for self expression in his work and no violence will be needed to whip him on to further effort. Nor will there be any need to control raw material sources or markets with violence. A sense of human values will direct economic activity into right channels. Such being the case we shall render impotent the causes which are at the root of international rivalry, jealousies and competition. In so far as these causes are removed, or in the proportion in which they are minimised, the chances of war breaking out will also have been controlled. If this can be achieved, it will lead to human progress peace and the prosperity of all nations.

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